

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

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681 Arbitrariamente não são elles só os senhores das vidas dos seus povos, ainda mesmo para a
 622 expiação dos crimes, porque quando estes se perpetraram, sendo com effeito prohibido entre elles o furto intestino e o assassinio, apenas pode o chefe fazer entregar o delinquente ás partes prejudicadas; si elle roubou ellas o espancam muito a seu gosto; porem si elle matou, tambem o matam, sem que o supplicio deva estender-se ao tormento, ou a outro genero de morte, que não seja descarregar-lhe um pau no alto da cabeça e deitar-lhe os miolos fóra.

(They [the chiefs] are not the arbitrary and sole masters over their people's lives, not even as to the expiation of crimes, for when such are committed, and internal theft and murder are actually forbidden, the chief can merely have the culprit surrendered to the aggrieved party, who beat him up at will for theft. But if he has killed someone, they kill him too, the penalty not including torture nor any other mode of death than their crushing his skull with a blow of a club so that the brains come spouting out.)

682 As for murderers, it may be said to the honor of these Indians that neither I nor
 628 any person living has experienced a murder within the tribe. The only traditional instance relates to a time before firearms were known, that is, at least 124 years ago. Since it illustrates more than one point of social custom I shall briefly summarize the story:

One evening after the dance in the plaza, when the performers had dispersed, Karati, a mature man famous as a warrior, seized the wife of a young lad named Wohô by the arm, led her to the edge of the plaza, and remained lying with her there till midnight. The following night he did the same. On the third evening Wohô was standing by the fire with his age class, when one of his kwynô reproached him for his lack of courage. Wohô answered that he was not afraid of Karati, but of starting a quarrel; but since his kwynô had censured him he would act now. He took his bow, loosened the string, which he tied round the upper end, and waited. At the close of the dance Karati once more seized the girl and took her to the edge of the plaza. After a while Wohô followed. Karati was lying on his back, his arm resting on the girl's arm, whose leg crossed his body. Then Wohô pushed the tip of his staff through the man's stomach, pinning him to the ground. The man merely groaned and died.

The relatives of both men at once gathered in hostile groups, but the chiefs intervened, preventing a feud by inducing the murdered man's kin to accept wergild, viz. a bow, a large gourd bottle filled with ground nuts, other cultivated plants, and a plot of cleared land. This settled the difficulty for good.

It thus appears that composition was an ancient institution, the wergild being paid to prevent further bloodshed.

685 I have personally witnessed several cases of theft. A certain Tepyét (Hanging-fish) was until about his twentieth year a veritable kleptomania, stealing anything loose, from matches to oxen. In order to elude detection when crossing the open plaza with a stolen bush-knife he tied it to his ankle with a string, dragging it on the ground behind him so that at least from a distance he escaped notice because of the grass growing between the radial paths. But the tracks were found, and he was forced to make restoration. One day I myself missed a handful of coins from the top of a trunk standing against the wall. The thief had perforated the grass wall so as to be able to reach the money with his hand. I complained first to my "brother," the Chief Kukräčá, who brought the matter up before the rest of the council, who entrusted my special hapin, Čatú, with the case. He came, looked over the situation indoors, then walked round the house, inspected the perforation, and declared, "It was Tepyét!" Then, accompanied by Kukräčá, he went to Tepyét, flatly accused him, and exacted the recovery of the money. Subsequently the thief tried to efface the bad impression created by rendering me various minor favors. During the final phase of his initiation he relapsed, stealing an ox with the aid of an accomplice, and grossly transgressed the rules of seclusion, so that he came within an ace of being disciplined by the council. However, after marriage he suddenly turned over a new leaf, becoming sensible and stable, so that during the four years since then I have had only favorable reports about him.

755 Besides suction these people know but a single remedy against snake bites. The
 757 pulverized charcoal of a horse bean called *kañ'kate* is tied on the sore spot and is drunk in water. The natives themselves have little confidence in this procedure. When Kentapí had been bitten by a snake and was bleeding from the mucous membrane, she asked me for some petroleum, which she drank according to Neobrazilian usage in such cases.

756 On one occasion I saw Kwujkó' safeguarding the whole population against snake
 755 bites. All of them were assembled in the plaza in two parallel, facing lines extending north and south. The shaman walked behind the lines from one person to another; he had two little leather straps and for the space of a moment put one around an ankle of each person in turn. Like other medicine-men who undertake collective treatments of this order, he did not receive any remuneration. Subsequently, I had no difficulty in obtaining the straps in exchange.

The third time I observed him doctoring a woman suffering from violent tooth-ache. He lanced the swollen gum with a snake tooth neatly and firmly mounted on a rod the length of a span; this implement, too, I was able to get by barter.

756 The pupil whom Kwujkó' intended to train showed no inclination for the shaman's profession, hence was allowed to go. Haktókót also had a disciple, about thirteen years old when I first saw him in action. Even then his master allowed him to execute a collective cure against a menacing epidemic. All the villagers were standing crowded together in the plaza, while the boy ran round them, waving a *sueupira* twig. Haktókót told me a pupil had to abstain from meat pies and any other form of meat for at least a month; he must refrain from sex relations and daily rub his body with the small pieces of a yellow root in order to be visited by the spirits, who at last would appear to him in a dream. After announcing this result in the plaza he would be acknowledged as a shaman.

755 Compared to the training imposed in other tribes, the course of a Canella pupil
 177 is rather easy and simple. Again and again one is impressed with the slight interest in supernaturalism manifested by these Indians. This was also illustrated during the Guajajára visit. Among these Tupí neighbors conditions are quite different; their shamans, who operate with tobacco narcosis, temporary departure of the soul from a living body, possession by animal spirits, etc., attempted to impress their hosts with an exhibition of their powers. One of them appeared with two assistants, smoked and rattled convulsively, then blew thick clouds of tobacco smoke into the assistants' open mouths. They fell as though dead, and he resuscitated them. The hosts, however, never dreamt of taking all this seriously; they merely took great pains to learn Guajajára melodies for subsequent use as dance songs, but otherwise the performance meant mere fun for them.

SORCERY

754 Sometimes the spirits give a shaman a disease substance "to be reared" by him. It is said somewhat to resemble rosin. The medicine-man can then use it to afflict personal enemies by blowing it in the desired direction through the hollow of his hand or by furtively interring it before the victim's door or in the plaza. The person bewitched will then die from some unascertainable disease. According to the mode of application such magic may affect single individuals or the entire village.

On the other hand, clippings of hair or other parts severed from the body are never used in sorcery.

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 682 As soon as a person is seriously suspected of having compassed another's death by sorcery (*hũf*), his life is forfeited among all the Timbira, the council decre-

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682 ing his death. Several trustworthy men selected from the number of ever-present would-be executioners unexpectedly club the criminal down either in the plaza or from an ambush on the road. They immediately cut out his eyes or at least blind-fold him to deprive the shadow of sight, sometimes they make cross-shaped gashes in the palms of his hands, and then he is interred in a pit without further ceremony. The killers paint themselves with charcoal and go into seclusion for a month.

[578] Suspicion of sorcery almost invariably falls on alien Indians resident in the village, very rarely on a tribesman. Because of this fact I never cease wondering at the temerity of natives who, despite their notoriously mistrustful nature, venture to marry outside their own group. In the exceptional cases a magician apparently charges a tribesman with the death not from jealousy, but rather from fear of being himself accused of sorcery. The Canella told me about a case where this was so obviously true that only the Indians' blind dread of sorcery prevented their recognition of the fact. The accuser in this instance achieved a double success: he got rid of a colleague who, unless forestalled, would probably have prepared the same fate for him; and through the "discovery" of the evil magic which the sorcerer was supposed to have buried in the plaza the accuser gained great esteem for his services.

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828 In 1903—only a few years after the advent of the Ča'kamekra—a certain Kavq'i of that tribe who had married a Canella woman was killed for sorcery, after having allegedly in the course of a trifling dispute threatened his wife with evil magic. In great alarm she told her relatives; some time after she fell ill and died. Thereupon her relatives on the occasion of a log race killed her husband without ado, without consulting the council or the then chief, Delfino Kōkaipó. Since the latter disapproved of the execution, he obliged the killers to pay wergild to the slain man's kin.

In 1927 the Apá'nyekra suspected Vacca Preta, a Rāmkō'kamekra living among them, of evil magic, killed him with a gun, and cremated the corpse. Thereupon the three Rāmkō'kamekra chiefs, accompanied by a number of tribesmen, marched to the Apá'nyekra village and forced the people to surrender the killer, but finally, after some persuasion, they were satisfied by an indemnity.

In the former days, however, such occurrences might evoke prolonged intertribal feuds. A Kre'pu'mkateye whom I knew was a little boy when his uncle was killed by the sorcery of another Timbira tribe, whose name was kept from me in view of my intimate contacts with most of the groups. The boy was trained to regard vengeance as an obligation, which he had discharged several years before my visit, killing two members of the guilty tribe (Krēyé of Cajuapára) with the assistance of several of his tribesmen. This happened at least fifteen years after the uncle's death.

I have never seen the Rāmkō'kamekra so incensed against Brazilian law as when I explained that the Government would not tolerate the execution of sorcerers. "What is to become of us then?" asked chief Kukrāčá'; the evil magicians will kill us all, by and by."

MISSIONS

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114 Catholic.—Notwithstanding Pohl's and Snethlage's statements, I can find not the slightest historical or ethnographic proof of the influence of Jesuit missions on any Timbira tribe. Demonstrably the Jesuits have never maintained a mission among any of them; and it is hardly to be supposed that they would have achieved as transients what the Capuchins failed to accomplish in the course of decades.

The first missionary who demonstrably concerned himself with the Eastern Timbira is the ecclesiastic mentioned by Ribeiro: